

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9203
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT PRIORITY
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USLO PEKING
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 0220

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: UNSC, RH, SF
SUBJ: SECURITY COUNCIL: INFORMAL CONSULTATION ON RHODESIA
AND SOUTH AFRICA JANUARY 24

FOR EMBASSY CAPETOWN

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REF: USUN 180 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY. SECURITY COUNCIL MET IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS
JANUARY 24. CITING BRITISH FAILURE TO PRODUCE A SUITABLE
DECLARATION CONDEMNING AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA,
SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT HARRIMAN (NIGERIA) SAID THAT THE
AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL NOW WOULD PROPOSE THEIR OWN

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THAT SUBJECT AND TABLE IT FOR A VOTE JANUARY 30. THE UK STRONGLY OBJECTED, AND THE ENSUING, SOMETIMES NASTY BRITISH EXCHANGES WITH HARRIMAN DECREASED THE CHANCES OF A MODERATE COUNCIL TREATMENT OF RHODESIA IN JANUARY. HARRIMAN FINALLY AGREED TO POSTPONE A DECISION ON A DATE FOR A RHODESIA SESSION UNTIL JANUARY 26. JANUARY 26 WAS ALSO SET FOR A SESSION ON SOUTH AFRICA, WITH THE AFRICAN GROUP STILL UNDECIDED AS TO WHICH, IF ANY, RESOLUTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA IT MAY PURSUE. END SUMMARY.

1. INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WERE HELD PM JANUARY 24 WITH NIGERIA (HARRIMAN) AS PRESIDENT FOR THE MONTH OF JANUARY. HARRIMAN OPENED THE MEETING BY STATING THAT, FOLLOWING CONSULTATIONS WITH THE AFRICAN GROUP CONTACT GROUP (AGCG), HE NOW PROPOSED AN AGENDA OF WORK FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE MONTH:

(A) REGARDING RHODESIA, THE THREE AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL WOULD PROPOSE A DRAFT RESOLUTION CONDEMNING ANY INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA. IN THIS REGARD, THE COUNCIL WOULD MEET FOR INFORMAL CONSULTATION AM JANUARY 30 TO DISCUSS THE DRAFT RESOLUTION AND THEN MEET IN INFORMAL SESSION THAT SAME AFTERNOON TO APPROVE IT. HARRIMAN ADDED THAT THIS ACTION HAD BEEN PROPOSED BY THE AGCG AS A RESULT OF UK AND US REFUSAL, IN PRIOR CONSULTATIONS, CONFIDENTIAL

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TO AGREE TO A "SIMPLE DECLARATION OF COMMITMENT" ON THE PART OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS WHICH WOULD "CLEAR THE MINDS OF THE AFRICAN GROUP".

(B) COUNCIL WOULD MEET FOR INFORMAL CONSULTATION ON SOUTH AFRICA AM JANUARY 26 AND AGAIN IN INFORMAL SESSION THAT AFTERNOON. DONALD WOODS WOULD SPEAK AND THE DEBATE COULD CONTINUE JANUARY 27. HARRIMAN SAID THAT DIRECTION OF THE DEBATE ON SOUTH AFRICA WAS UNCLEAR AND NO RESOLUTIONS WERE PROPOSED AS YET.

(C) HARRIMAN PROPOSED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARMS EMBARGO WATCHDOG COMMITTEE FOLLOW THE GUIDELINES OF THE RHODESIAN SANCTIONS COMMITTEE IN ELECTING ITS OFFICERS. IN THAT REGARD, HE SUGGESTED THAT RAMPHUL (MAURITIUS) BE CONSIDERED FOR CHAIRMAN AND KUWAIT AND BOLIVIA FOR VICE CHAIRMAN. THAT COMMITTEE SHOULD MEET AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO WORK OUT ITS RULES OF PROCEDURE. HARRIMAN THEN OPENED THE FLOOR FOR QUESTIONS.

2. KUWAIT (BISHARA) ASKED IF HARRIMAN INTENDED TO DISCUSS THE SANCTIONS COMMITTEE'S INTERIM REPORT. HARRIMAN WAFFLED, SAYING THAT THERE MIGHT BE A DISCUSSION OF THE REPORT IF TIME PERMITTED. BISHARA

THEN ASKED IF HARRIMAN HAD THE AUTHORITY TO DECIDE ON
THE OFFICERS OF THE WATCHDOG COMMITTEE. FRANCE, U.S.
AND UK ADDED THAT THEY HAD NOT BEEN PART OF HARRIMAN'S
ALLEGED "CONSULTATIONS" ON THIS MATTER. HARRIMAN
QUICKLY RETREATED, AGREEING TO DEFER THE WHOLE QUESTION
OF OFFICERS FOR THE WATCHDOG COMMITTEE UNTIL A LATER DATE.

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3. RICHARD (UK) STATED THAT JANUARY 30 WAS "THE SILLIEST
TIME" TO DISCUSS RHODESIA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL SINCE IT
WAS THE VERY SAME DAY THAT THE UK AND THE US WERE
PLANNING TO MEET IN MALTA WITH THE LEADERS OF THE
PATRIOTIC FRONT. HARRIMAN RETORTED THAT THE COUNCIL
WAS NOT SEIZED OF THE QUESTION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN MEETING IN

MALTA BUT OF THE RHODESIA QUESTION AS A WHOLE.

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MOREOVER, THE COUNCIL HAD NOT BEEN INFORMED OF ANY SUCH TALKS TO BE HELD IN MALTA. HARRIMAN REPEATED THAT HE HAD ASKED THEUK TO MAKE A SIMPLE DECLARATION STATING THAT HMG WOULD NOT RECOGNIZE ANY INTERNAL SETTLEMENT BROUGHT ABOUT BY IAN SMITH IN RHODESIA. SINCE THE UK HAD REFUSED TO COMPLY, THE AGCG HAD DIRECTED HIM (HARRIMAN) TO PROPOSE A FORMAL RESOLUTION CONDEMNING ANY INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. IF THE BRITISH WOULD AGREE TO SUCH A RESOLUTION, THERE WOULD BE NO NEED FOR A DEBATE. IF NOT, THEN THE DEBATE COULD STRETCH OUT INTO FEBRUARY AND BECOME "FULL-FLEDGED". (THE IMPLIED THREAT WAS THAT IF THE AFRICAN RESOLUTION WAS NOT ACCEPTED THEN THE CONSEQUENCES WOULD BE FAR MORE DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH.)

4. U.S. (MCHENRY) SAID THAT HE HAD NOT FELT THAT HARRIMAN'S CONSULTATIONS WITH THE US AND UK ON A DECLARATION ON AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT HAD REACHED THE IMPASSE HARRIMAN SEEMED TO IMPLY. THE US WONDERED WHY HARRIMAN HAD NOT CONTINUED THE CONSULTATIONS. THE US REMAINED WILLING TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE IN AN EFFORT TO REACH A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT.

5. RICHARD ACCUSED HARRIMAN OF SCHIZOPHRENIC RHETORIC AND HARRIMAN RETURNED THE COMPLIMENT, ACCUSING THE BRITISH OF HEDGING UNTIL "NOW AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT STARES US IN THE FACE." USSR AND KUWAIT ALONE SUPPORTED HARRIMAN'S WISH TO NAIL DOWN JANUARY 30 AS THE DATE FOR A SC SESSION ON RHODESIA. OTHERS ARGUED FOR DELAY UNTIL THE RESULTS OF MALTA WERE CLEAR. HARRIMAN FINALLY AGREED TO POSTPONE A DECISION ON THE DATE FOR A RHODESIA SESSION UNTIL THE COUNCIL'S CONSULTATION AT 11:00AM JANUARY 26. HE WARNED THAT HE HAD TO REPORT THE RESULTS OF TODAY'S CONSULTATIONS

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TO THE AFRICAN GROUP ON JANUARY 25. THE AFRICAN DRAFT RESOLUTION ON AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WOULD DEPEND ON WHAT THE AFRICAN GROUP DECIDED. HARRIMAN THEN ADJOURNED THE CONSULTATION.

6. IN INFORMAL TALKS WITH UK AND US REPRESENTATIVES AFTER THE SESSION HAD ENDED, HARRIMAN FIRST GAVE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON WHAT TO EXPECT FROM THE

UPCOMING SC SESSION(S) ON SOUTH AFRICA. THE AFRICAN GROUP, HE SAID, WAS CONSIDERING TWO OPTIONS. THE FIRST WAS A BROAD DISCUSSION OF REPRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA COMBINED WITH A FUZZY CALL FOR THE COUNCIL TO CONSIDER THE COLLECTION OF THE 32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S RESOLUTIONS ON APARTHEID AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE SECOND OPTION WAS A DEBATE SHARPLY FORCUSSED ON THE "SWEDISH RESOLUTION" ON CESSATION OF NEW INVESTMENTS.

7. HARRIMAN THEN READ FROM A WORKING DRAFT OF A RESOLUTION ON AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA PREPARED BY HIS STAFF. ITS OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH READ "ANY INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WILL NOT ELIMINATE THE THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND WILL NOT BE RECOGNIZED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL." A SERIES OF OBJECTIONS BY RICHARD PROMPTED AN INCONCLUSIVE THIRTY MINUTES OF WHAT PRINCIPLES SHOULD OR SHOULD NOT BE SOUGHT IN A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. HARRIMAN, OBVIOUSLY ENJOYING HAVING PUT THE BRITISH ON THE SPOT, CALLED ON THEM TO RESUME DRAFTING. RICHARD SAID THAT HE WOULD SEEK FRESH INSTRUCTIONS. HARRIMAN'S PARTING COMMENT, HOWEVER, FURTHER UNDERMINED ANY EXPECTATION THAT WE MAY EXPECT A RATIONAL TREATMENT OF THE ISSUE IN COUNCIL IN JANUARY. "DON'T WORRY", HE SAID, "I'M AS CONFUSED AS YOU ARE".

8. OF EQUAL CONCERN IS THE GROWING GOTTERDAMMERUNG ATTITUDE OF IVOR RICHARD. "IF THINGS GET ANY MORE
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MUCKED UP," HE COMMENTED PRIVATELY, "WE'LL SEE A DIVISIVE DEBATE ON INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA, A FIGHT OVER AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT RESOLUTION AND A BLOODY DEBATE ON OIL". RICHARD DOES NOT ADMIT THAT THE INTRANSIGENT ATTITUDE OF HIS OWN GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN THE PRIMARY FACTOR IN WHAT COULD BECOME A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY OF ROUGH DAYS AHEAD.

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9. COMMENT: A FEW DAYS AGO WE FACED THE REALISTIC
PROSPECT THAT A SUITABLE UK/US DECLARATION ON AN
INTERNAL SETTLEMENT COULD HAVE PRE-EMPTED ANY DIVISIVE
DEBATE ON RHODESIA IN JANUARY (REFTEL). NOW, BRITISH
INTRANSIGENCE ON SUCH A DECLARATION, RICHARD'S
UNNECESSARILY ROUGH LANGUAGE IN COUNCIL AND HARRIMAN'S
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IMPATIENCE AND INEXPERIENCE THREATEN TO COMPLETELY
UNRAVEL THAT HAPPY SCENARIO. HARRIMAN, HIS SUSPICIONS
OF BRITISH MOTIVES STRENGTHENED BY TODAY'S SESSION,
MUST GO BEFORE THE AFRICAN GROUP ON JANUARY 25.
HAVING END-RUN THEM FOR TEN DAYS IN WHAT STILL APPEARS
TO BE A GOOD FAITH EFFORT TO OBTAIN A MODERATE,
CONSENSUAL RESOLUTION, HARRIMAN WILL NOW REPORT THAT
HE HAS FAILED AND THAT THE UK HAS REFUSED TO COOPERATE
IN FORESTALLING AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. UNLESS WE CAN
HEAD IT OFF, ANY DRAFT RESOLUTION ON AN INTERNAL
SETTLEMENT WHICH EMERGES FROM THE AFRICAN GROUP WILL
PROBABLY BE A CALL FOR A FLAT REJECTION OF ANY INTERNAL

SETTLEMENT, UNACCEPTABLE TO THE BRITISH AND PERHAPS TO US AS WELL. THE MOOD OF THE AFRICAN GROUP WILL BE SOUR, AND THE POSSIBILITY EXISTS OF THE NEGATIVE MOMENTUM BEGUN TONIGHT PUSHING THE COUNCIL TOWARDS A DEBATE ON OIL WHICH, AT THIS POINT, NONE OF THE MAJOR PLAYERS REALLY WANTS.

10. MISSION BELIEVES THAT US SHOULD MAKE IMMEDIATE, HIGH-LEVEL APPROACH TO THE BRITISH IN AN ATTEMPT TO PUT MATTERS BACK ON TRACK. WHILE WE MAY BE PAST THE POINT WHERE A SIMPLE UK OR UK/US DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON A RHODESIA SETTLEMENT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT, A DRAFT DECLARATION IS PROBABLY STILL WORTH TRYING FOR OPENERS WITH HARRIMAN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. (WE WILL ATTEMPT TO CONVINCE THE AFRICAN GROUP NOT TO SET ANY DRAFT RESOLUTION IN CONCRETE AT THEIR JANUARY 25 MEETING.) IF AN ATTEMPT TO REVIVE THE DECLARATION IDEA FAILS, THEN ANY UK/US TEXT WILL HAVE TO BE FORMALIZED INTO A DRAFT UK/US RESOLUTION TO BE VETTED WITH THE AFRICAN GROUP. MISSION BELIEVES A COMPROMISE IS STILL POSSIBLE PROVIDED WE ACT QUICKLY AND ARE ABLE TO BRING THE BRITISH ALONG ON A REASONABLE

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APPROACH. WE DO NOT EXPECT GAINING BRITISH COOPERATION TO BE EASY. WE UNDERSTAND OWEN MUST ANSWER QUESTIONS IN PARLIAMENT JANUARY 25 AND WE EXPECT HE WILL BE UNDER CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE FROM THE OPPOSITION NOT TO CLOSE THE DOOR ON AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT.

11. REGARDING WHAT CONSTITUTES A "REASONABLE APPROACH" TO ANY DRAFT DECLARATION OR RESOLUTION, IT IS EASIER TO SAY WHAT CAN'T BE IN IT THAN WHAT CAN. WE CANNOT, FOR EXAMPLE, SAY THAT ANY RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT MUST CONFORM TO THE UK/US PLAN SINCE THAT PLAN HAS NEVER BEEN APPROVED AS SUCH BY THE PARTIES. WE CANNOT OFFER WHAT AMOUNTS TO VETO POWER TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. WHAT WE NEED, MISSION BELIEVES, IS A SET OF POSITIVE PRINCIPLES REAFFIRMING THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF OUR ORIGINAL APPROACH, E.G., A GENUINE, PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE MAJORITY AND FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE. ANY SOLUTION MUST LEAD TO AN END TO THE FIGHTING AND GAIN INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE. MISSION WILL CONTINUE TO WORK ON POSSIBLE FORMULATIONS AND WE ASSUME DEPARTMENT (AND HOPE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT) WILL TOO.

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